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tablets, and bows, He then fetches the bowls containing the morning meal, and places them on the altar, again strikes the gong, and waits with downcast eyes for about a minute. Then, bowing once more to the altar, he takes the dishes away and the meal is eaten. 769 788

This simple rite suffices to associate the spirits of the dead with the daily life of their descendants and ensure their well-being. On certain occasions in the year more elaborate ceremonies are performed. The first fourteen days of the 7th Lunar month, a period corresponding to the early part of August in the Solar Calendar, is traditionally the time when the spirits of the ancestors return to dwell in the family home and observe the conduct and condition of their descendants. On the night of the 15th of the 7th Month, when the spirits are due to depart, the ceremony called Shu Pao, "Burning the Bundles" is performed. At dusk an altar, usually a square table used at other times for meals, is set up in the courtyard in front of the main hall, where the altar of the ancestral spirits stands. It is covered with a piece of red embroidery and spread with a number of dishes of sweetmeats, cooked food, fruit, and six cups of rice wine. An incense burner flanked by two candles stands in the centre of the altar, and in front of it, on the courtyard floor, a brazier with a wood fire is kindled. This is flanked by clusters of incense sticks stuck into the crevices of the pavement. 769 796

The head of the family, or the senior male present, kneels to the right of the altar on a cushion, facing outwards, and one of the women hands him a pile of cardboard boxes covered with coloured paper, made to resemble Chinese books. On each of these is inscribed the name, date of birth and death, and age at decease of one ancestor of the family, and every ancestor has such a "book", while those of most importance have several, each with an identical inscription. Taking a pile of these "books" the head of the family reads

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796 out the inscriptions one by one in a chanting voice, handing them as he finishes to one of the children, who then lays them on the wood fire, while another member of the family, a wife or daughter, throws on to the fire strings of "spirit money"—coloured paper representing ingots of gold and silver.

Fresh piles of "books", which have been lying on the ancestral altar, are brought out and the process of reading out the inscriptions and burning the "books" continues until every deceased ancestor has been so honoured. As, in a wealthy family, the records so kept may go back several generations, and the number of individuals so remembered be over a hundred, the ceremony lasts a long time. When all have been read out and burned, the head of the family rises, and bows three times to the altar, while all the other members of the family, men and women in order of age pass behind the altar, and *k'e t'ou* three times—that is prostrate themselves and knock the forehead on the floor. Even the youngest baby is brought by its mother to make this sign of reverence. The head of the family then pours the cups of rice wine on to the ground before the altar, scattering a few drops from each cup into the fire, and takes pinches of food from the dishes and drops them into the fire. All proceed to the street gate where incense sticks are lighted and fire crackers are discharged, to speed the spirits on their way. This ends the rite. The fire is doused, the altar cleared away. The spirits have departed for another year.

The behaviour of all who take part in this rite is in marked contrast to the careless conduct observed at temples. There is here no laughing and conversation. Nothing but the voice of the head of the family chanting out the names and ages of the deceased breaks the silence, and the scene, lit only by the candles and the firelight, is impressive and solemn.

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(1) ANCESTOR WORSHIP

It is characteristic of the Min Chia attitude to religious practices that, although the Shu Pao ceremony is a rite of Ancestor Worship, it has become associated with other deities as well. On the day following the ceremony many people, particularly women, go to the temple of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and there offer prayers and burn incense for the repose of the spirits of the dead, with the same ritual as is used in the spring festival of this deity. The difficulty of reconciling the belief that the ancestral spirits have just been dwelling in the home, and the belief that they, or some of them, have been confined in the Taoist underworld until released by these sacrifices, does not appear to trouble the Min Chia mind. This is by no means the only instance in which conflicting theology is ignored in favour of the performance of differing rites serving the same general purpose.

Also connected with the Shu Pao ceremony is the custom of releasing K'un Ming "lamps", in reality fire balloons ingeniously made of paper and bamboo lathes, which rise burning to great heights on still windless evenings, such as are common at this season of the year. These fire balloons take their name from the famous Chinese general of the third century A.D., Ch'u-k'o Liang, or Ch'u-k'o K'un-Ming, who first temporarily conquered Yunnan for the Western Han Dynasty. Legend relates that he used this device to send signals to detached bodies of his troops in his wars with the native princes of Yunnan. Although this is the explanation commonly given for the name of the fire balloons, it is admitted that they are never used till the night of the 14th of the 7th Month, the night of the Shu Pao ceremony, and subsequent nights for about a month. In spite of this rather faint connection with religion, no one is able to explain what function, other than that of entertainment, the release of these fire balloons is meant to fulfil. Releasing

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796 K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

769 527 788 One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are [764] held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

766 [1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

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CHAPTER 6

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(2) *The Gods*

776 779 796 FOR the Min Chia peasantry Buddhism means the worship of the greater Buddhist Boddhisatvas, who are thought of as gods, but gods with a specialised function. Kuan Yin for example is the Goddess of Mercy, the patron of women and mothers, and of fishermen. Yen Wang, the King of the Underworld, is worshipped and propitiated to secure the release of souls from hell. In practice all the other Boddhisavtas such as Manjusri and also Amida Buddha and Maitreya, the Buddha to come, have no separate temples of their own, but are accomodated in a shrine in the Kuan Yin temples. To the Min Chia to-day Buddhism is really nothing more than the cult of Kuan Yin, for this Boddhisatva has acquired an importance which completely overshadows Amida Buddha himself. Thus the only great festival which is specifically Buddhist is in honour of Kuan Yin at her temple south of the city on the 19th of the 2nd Month, a date corresponding approximately to the 31st of March.

346 374 This temple is a large building, or rather series of buildings round linked courtyards, entirely Chinese in style and decoration, and, though the site is old, the existing temple is quite modern. It was rebuilt about fifty years ago to replace the old one burned down by the Moslem rebels in the '70's. Since the great Buddhist monastery which once surrounded the Three Pagodas outside the North Gate shared the same fate, but has never been rebuilt, the Kuan Yin T'ang to the south of the city has become the principal

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Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

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before the image of the deity, and add a stick or two of incense and some paper spirit money to the fire. At one shrine, that of Amida Buddha, a sort of religious cock-shy attracts great crowds. A curtain is suspended before the image with a narrow slit through which he can be seen. The worshippers endeavour to throw cash through the slit and hit the god, and to do this is regarded as very lucky. The numerous coins which miss slide down the curtain into a wooden chest to swell the temple funds. The economic aspect of the festival from the point of view of the monks is indeed everywhere quite apparent.

The only shrine which has what might be called a set service is that of Kuan Yin herself, in the main hall. Here all day monks chant sutras to the accompaniment of music while the lay worshippers come and go, prostrating themselves and burning their incense at the shrine door. Elsewhere, in corners of the courtyards, or at the foot of one of the great trees which shade them, circles of pious women tend an altar and an incense fire throughout the day. Standing in a half circle before the altar they chant sutras, or often simply repeat the names of Kuan Yin and Amida, keeping time on little gongs and wooden drums made in the shape of a fish. These women belong to societies which take a vow of partial or total abstinence from meat and wine, and meet at the festivals to perform these rites. They set up their own altar, a simple table covered with dishes of fruit and sweetmeats, and burn their incense before it. They are in no sense priestesses, for they are married women, usually elderly, who have joined a society of abstainers, the object of which is to acquire merit individually. Nor do they confine themselves to the worship of one god. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and at that of the Mountain God and the Lake Dragon King, the same women go through the same rites.

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(2) THE GODS

The festivals of these deities are in fact in every way similar to that of Kuan Yin. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, there are some slight variations. In front of the main shrine of this temple there is a large water tank crossed by a low bridge of stone. Here curious rites are performed intended to assist the dead to escape from hell. Little cheap pottery bowls with a lighted candle stuck in them are launched on the waters of the tank, and the worshipper endeavours to steer the bowl under the bridge into the other part of the tank, and so to the further side of it. If this is successfully performed it is believed to be an omen that the soul of the deceased person has escaped from hell. At the same time little ladders made of bamboo, the size of toys, are lowered end on into the water, also with the intention of helping the dead to escape from the underworld. It is not easy to steer the bowls with their candles still alight to safety, for the worshipper must not touch the bowls, only being allowed to swish the water about with a stick and so create currents which waft the bowl through the narrow opening of the bridge. Consequently the surface of the water is soon strewn with candle ends and the bottom of the tank with sunken bowls.

It might be supposed that these evil omens would have a depressing affect on the crowd and the unsuccessful worshippers, but in fact the whole performance seems to be more in the nature of a game than a religious rite. The theoretically solemn business of liberating a soul from torment is left to the unskilful hands of small children, or the too vigorous splashings of schoolboys, while an irreverent crowd of their playmates cheers a success or laughs derisively at a failure. Young men can be heard laying odds on one bowl or against another, a striking instance of the gambling spirit intruding into what was once, perhaps, a truly religious rite.

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Associated with this festival of Tung Yueh is a curious custom which has given it the name of the beggars' festival. Not only all the genuine whole-time beggars from the whole countryside assemble to line the road to the temple and crave alms, but also many hundreds of the poor who are childless. It is believed that if a childless couple make an offering with money obtained by begging, their prayers will be granted and the woman will conceive. For nearly a mile from the north gate to the temple itself the path is lined on both sides with these mendicants, and it is considered becoming to give at least one cash to each. Over a hundred of these almost valueless coins go to a dollar nickel, so the expense is not great. No one, however, can explain why the King of the Underworld should be associated with childbirth rather than Kuan Yin the goddess of mothers.

Kuan Yin and Tung Yueh are the only gods strictly Buddhist or Taoist which have great festivals in the Ta Li district, the other festivals being in honour either of no specific deity, or of the Lake Dragon, and Sai Sur, the Mountain God, which are local deities in no way connected with Taoism. The festival of the Mountain God, held at his principal temple at the base of T'sang Shan about two miles from the city, takes place in May, but here the ritual is in every way exactly a repetition of that observed at the Kuan Yin T'ang, except that there is no play performed, since the stage was ruined by a fire some years ago and is only now being rebuilt. The fact that the temple authorities have gone to this expense may indicate a realisation of the importance of giving theatricals if a large attendance is to be expected. On this occasion many of the worshippers as well as the sightseers make a further climb up to the Chung Ho temple, situated about two thousand feet above the city in a beautiful pine wood. Most go up simply for the view, which is superb, but the temple shares in the festival and incense is

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burned there also, although it is dedicated to Yu Huang, the Jade Emperor, supreme deity of official Taoism, and not to the Mountain God. A well-kept shrine to the Mountain God is maintained just outside the limits of this temple, possibly as an inducement to the worshippers who might not otherwise make the effort to climb so high. This is one more instance of the characteristic Min Chia indifference to theology and the essential unity of the so-called "three religions."

The dates chosen for these festivals, almost all either in the spring or autumn, the two seasons when the weather is best, indicate the practical ends in view. In summer when the rains are heavy, few people could be induced to risk a long climb up the mist-wrapped mountain. Equally the winter, a season of high winds, which make boating unpleasant and dangerous, would be unpopular for the festival of the Lake Dragon, when boating expeditions are one of the attractions. This festival is therefore held on the 8th of the 8th month, about the twelfth of September, when the rains are almost over and the winter winds not yet begun. The local Chinese call this the Dragon Boat Festival, after the famous Chinese holiday which falls on the 5th of the 5th month, but in fact it has nothing to do with the Chinese celebration in honour of the poet and statesman, Chü Yuan-Ming who was drowned in the Mi Lo river in Hunan in the second century B.C. A certain similarity in the ritual has been either copied from the Chinese, or more probably arisen from the nature of any water holiday. The real Dragon Boat Holiday, in the 5th Month, is not celebrated at all by the Min Chia, although many of the Chinese shops shut for the day and the schools close. In Ta Li it is only a secular holiday observed by Chinese institutions, without religious significance.

The temple of Lur Wa, the Dragon King, is on the shore

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of Erh Hai lake, in the small village called Der Ser Mo by the Min Chia, and, after the temple, Lung Wang Miao by the Chinese. The old buildings were wrecked by the great earthquake of 1925, but have been partially rebuilt. The great hall of the temple and a detached pavilion built on an artificial island connected with the shore by a bridge are all that are now standing. This temple differs from any Buddhist or Taoist shrine by having no image of the deity. Instead there is a large lacquered tablet on the altar inscribed with the name and title of Lur Wa, and behind the altar a rather fine mural painting of the Dragon emerging from dense rolling rain clouds. In the courtyard before this hall, still encumbered by the ruins of old buildings, and on the open space between the temple and the shore, crowds of worshippers, as usual mainly women, perform the accustomed rites of prostration and incense burning. As at the Kuan Yin temple, hawkers sell incense and spirit money, while the societies of women abstainers chant their endless repetition of the name of the god before improvised altars. The island pavilion is thronged with worshippers who are busy releasing fish and eels and scattering rice on the water. This custom, called in Chinese "*fang shêng*" "to release life", has no doubt been borrowed from Buddhism. Its purpose is to acquire merit by saving the lives of creatures in danger of death, in accordance with the Buddhist prohibition against the killing of any living creature. As interpreted here it is supposed to be pleasing to the Dragon King, the lord of the lake and all that is in it, who will thus be more disposed to spare the lives of fishermen who, for the rest of the year are engaged not in releasing fish, but in catching them.

In practice, as everyone knows quite well, the fisher folk have been exceptionally busy for several days catching and preserving alive the fish and eels which they sell to the worshippers on the day of the festival. The fact that here

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one does see many men, fishermen, engaged in this rite of releasing fish, perhaps proves that it is taken more seriously as an act of propitiation than most of the temple rituals.

For the great majority of those who crowd the shores of the lake on this day the attraction is not worship at the temple but boating picnics. Almost every family from the city, Chinese or Min Chia, hires a boat for the day, while the poor take places in one of the big cargo ships, devoted for the day to pleasure cruises. Many of the boats are decorated with coloured paper streamers and flowers either artificial or real, lotuses, sunflowers and paper roses (the real variety not being in season). This custom gives the festival its Min Chia name, Yo Huor Yeh, "Gay Flower Boats," a fact which may indicate that the custom has no relation to the Dragon Boats of other parts of China. When a Min Chia name is employed it is a sure indication of something ancient and independent of Chinese influence.

The boating expeditions, though largely pure pleasure excursions, always follow a set course. No boats merely sail about the lake at random. Close to Der Ser Mo village there is one of three large lagoons connected with the lake by a narrow channel. The boats first make a tour of this lagoon, then pass out into the main lake and enter the other lagoons in turn, returning to Shier Yu village at the mouth of the first lagoon. No one has any explanation for this set course, from which they never depart, although it may be repeated several times in the course of the day. When asked, Min Chia either say that it is the custom, or explain it by saying that landsmen are afraid to go far out on to the lake. This latter explanation is clearly nonsense for the lake is in constant use as a means of communication, and at this season is quite calm. It is an example of an explanation invented on the spur of the moment to satisfy the questioner.

Just as the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival of the 5th

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

796 193 Month commemorates the tragic death of an ancient poet, the Min Chia of Ta Li have a festival which is equally primarily the commemoration of an historical event, although it has now acquired a certain religious significance. In A.D. 731, Pi Lo-ko, one of the most celebrated Kings of Nan Chao, and the actual founder of the present city of Ta Li, planned to entrap and murder the five chief subordinate princes of the kingdom, who appear to have had at that time a more than feudal independence. According to one account these five were the Princes of Mêng Hua, Pao Shan, Chien Ch'uan, Mi Tu and Têng Ch'uan, all cities of west Yunnan. The Princes were invited to a banquet which was held in a tower, or two storied pagoda-like structure, the traditional site of which is marked by a small temple just beyond the north-west corner of Ta Li city wall.

The Prince of Têng Ch'uan suspected treachery, but consented to go, his wife having induced him to wear an iron bracelet, though the story does not relate whether this was a charm or not. When the five Princes had dined and were partly intoxicated, their host the King excused himself and left, whereupon the building was immediately fired, combustibles having been placed in the lower story. All the Princes perished in the blaze, and even their bodies were consumed, so that when their wives came to seek them for burial, only the wife of the Prince of Têng Ch'uan succeeded in identifying her lord by the iron bracelet which he had worn. In raking among the ashes her fingers were burned and blistered.

796 On the night of the 24th of the 6th Month, about the 30th of July by the Solar Calendar, this event is recalled by curious rites. The women, in memory of the Princess of Têng Ch'uan's burnt fingers, dye their finger tips with a red juice, and at nightfall every family sets up large torches outside the street gate. In the country the farmers take

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torches and run round the boundaries of their fields waving them, while in some villages a stack of hay decorated with a flag, no doubt symbolizing the fatal tower, is fired at nightfall. The young married men then make a rush through the flames to secure the flag, it being believed that he who gets the flag will have a son before the year is out. The burning of torches in the streets and round the fields is believed to drive away sickness, and it is considered courteous to wave your torch in a friend's face, as it will bring him good health for the year.

During the day the usual festival rites of incense burning enlivened by a stage play, take place at the little temple which marks the traditional site of the massacre, the play being a version of the historical story of the Five Princes, and not as is usual, a standard Chinese play unconnected with the festival. This play is acted in the Chinese manner, and in Chinese, but it does not appear to be known elsewhere, the whole festival being quite local to Ta Li and the villages round about. A month later, on the 23rd of the 7th Month, the date on which the widow of the Prince of Têng Ch'uan is said to have died of grief, many families hold a feast to honour her memory.

It is curious that this massacre should be so long remembered, for King Pi Lo-ko reigned for many years after the fatal year A.D. 731, and was succeeded by his son. It does not seem likely that either would have approved the commemoration of an event which, however necessary for reasons of state, must have seemed to the King better forgotten.

Another festival local to the Ta Li region, and in no way connected with any rite known to Chinese religious custom, is held in the spring. This festival is called in Min Chia "Gwer Sa La", a name which cannot be translated as its meaning has been lost, the Min Chia themselves being un-

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796 able to give any explanation of the words. By the Chinese it is called "Jao Shan Lin" or "Winding (among) mountains and woods", but this name is not admitted by the Min Chia and is not in fact descriptive, for the festival has no connection with either the mountain or the forests. Although the occasion is not recognised by the Chinese as a holiday, and is indeed frowned upon by the government, it is for the Min Chia one of the most important festivals of the year, a kind of country carnival, in which the city plays no part. The participants are Min Chia peasants from the villages, no Chinese taking any part in it, although many of the city people come out to witness the ceremony.

In recent years the government has attempted to suppress this festival on the ground that it had unseemly features, but although proclamations forbidding it were posted in 1936 and 1937, no attempt was made to suppress it by force, and no attention to the prohibition was paid by the people. In 1938 the government ceased even this nominal interference and the rites were held as before. The festival is held on the 25th of the 4th month of the lunar calendar, a date corresponding to a day at the end of May or in the first week in June according to the year. In 1938 this date was the 24th of May, in 1937 the 3rd of June. It may here be observed that this date falls in the margin of two weeks between the wheat harvest gathered at the end of May, and the breaking of the monsoon, which makes possible the transplanting of rice, in the second week of June.

Thus the festival is held after the wheat harvest has been gathered, but before the rice has been planted. This is not an absolute rule. Wheat may still be un-harvested, rice already being planted when the festival is held. It does not, therefore, act as a signal to begin work on the rice transplanting. On the other hand the season is a busy one unsuitable to a festival held merely for pleasure or as a holiday.

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(2) THE GODS

On the day before the Festival, i.e. the 24th of the lunar month, young men from the villages south of Ta Li start to travel north along the old track which connects the villages lying at the base of the mountains. They wear ordinary clothes and their only departure from the routine of a normal journey is that they halt to burn incense and *k'e t'ou* at shrines along the road, the shrines of the local deities of the road, and the Mountain God. No Buddhist temple is visited. Those who pass through Ta Li itself used to worship in this way at the temple of the City God, the official Genius Loci, but since the cult of this deity is not maintained under the republic, and the temple was destroyed in an earthquake in 1925, this is no longer done.

Fifteen miles north of the city the travellers stay for the night at the large village of Hur Chieh, called by the Chinese Hsi Chou, where they lodge in the inns or at the homes of relatives and friends. Next morning, the day of the festival, they form parties and begin to travel southwards, this time by the path along the lake shore, which connects the riparian villages. These parties are composed of from four to eight dancers and four or five musicians. The dancers are young men, but not necessarily unmarried, the musicians may be of any age, and are often elderly. The dancers wear fantastic clothes, not a set costume, but a medley of ordinary clothing worn loosely or awry, with coloured streamers pinned on to their shoulders and arms. They wear a piece of coloured cloth, usually red, round the head, and this is sometimes further decorated with the red woollen pompoms worn by some Min Chia girls in their silver headdresses. It is a question whether these dancers are not, or once were, meant to be dressed as women. For the most part their costume, silk trousers and unbuttoned coats with the sleeves hanging loose, decorated with coloured streamers, is not sufficiently precise to say

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Dancers at the Gwer
Sa La festival.

Village temple to Ku'ei Hsing.

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whether it is really meant in some cases to be a feminine costume, as Min Chia women and girls also all wear trousers, and coats of similar loose cut. Some of the dancers, however, do wear straw sandals with coloured thread and red woollen pompoms on the toes, which resemble the sandals worn by girls on market days. All the dancers wear spectacles or dark glasses, and carry fly whisks or cleft willow wands in their hands. The wands have a coin jammed into the cleft. Usually they also have ears of wheat stuck into the nostrils, held in the lips, or behind the ears.

They approach a village preceded by the musicians, who for their part wear ordinary clothes except for wreaths of willow branches bound round the head. At the entrance to the village, where there is a cross roads or a space by a large tree, the party halts and dances, surrounded by a dense throng of spectators. These, the villagers and people from the city and round about, wear their best clothes and, especially the children, wear small paper charms either crescent shaped or in the form of a Pa Kua design, on the side of the face. Many children and some men and women also have little amulets of coloured wool in human form hung round their necks. The dancers face each other in pairs, rarely more than two pairs at once, as the space is insufficient. They dance with a reeling gait swinging their bodies from the hips, lolling their heads, rolling their eyes and assuming grotesque expressions, while they tap each other and themselves on the shoulders, breast, and back with their fly whisks or willow wands, and wave a piece of coloured cloth in their left hands. As they dance they half chant, half declaim, in a high pitched voice similar to that used on the Chinese stage, their remarks, which are hard to catch, being definitely lewd or obscene, as is shown by the laughter of the men and the blushes of the girl spectators.

This performance lasts a few minutes, and then the party

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passes on to another part of the village, giving about three dances in each village. At intervals of from a quarter of an hour to half an hour other parties arrive and give exactly similar performances, though the funny remarks are not the same, and some make a bigger hit with the crowds than others. The final dance is always given by each party in the open square of Mer Ger Yu village, about four miles from Ta Li, on the shore of the lake. Here the performance ends, and the dancers and musicians are entertained, as they finish, to a feast served under a canopy in the village square. When they have finished this meal they depart to their homes without waiting for the conclusion of the festival.

The concluding rite is somewhat different. At about four in the afternoon the tablet of the Village Ancestor (*Ber Dser*) of Mer Ger Yu is brought out of its temple and placed on a litter similar to a bride's sedan chair, decorated with red cloth and paper streamers, rosettes and artificial flowers. It is then carried in procession attended by a crowd of villagers and other spectators to a point about one mile north of Mer Ger Yu, the point where the lands of Mer Ger Yu adjoin those of the next village to the north. Here the tablet and its attendants await the coming of the last party of dancers, and when they arrive the whole procession returns to Mer Ger Yu, the dancers preceding the litter of the tablet, and dancing more or less continuously all the way. The crowd follows behind waiving willow branches. In the village the final dance is given before the temple of the Village Ancestor, and the tablet is thereafter taken out of the litter and replaced in its temple. The dancers and musicians have their feast and everyone disperses as dusk begins to fall.

The Min Chia give three explanations of this ceremony. To some it is done to honour the Village Ancestor of Mer

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796 Ger Yu, but they cannot explain why, if this is the case, the dancers should be men from other villages rather than inhabitants of Mer Ger Yu itself, nor can they explain why the dances take place in half a dozen other villages to the north as well as at Mer Ger Yu. Yet the connection with the Village Ancestor of Mer Ger Yu certainly exists, since the tablet plays a conspicuous rôle in the final rite, and the whole ceremony ends there. Others say that the main purpose is to rejoice at the success of the wheat harvest and bring benefit to the rice crop which is then being planted. One may observe that the wheat crop is not very important to the Min Chia, and that the festival takes place on a fixed day whether the harvest has been good or bad, or is still ungathered due to early rains (this was the case in 1938). On the other hand, ears of wheat are certainly carried in the mouths and nostrils of the dancers and musicians, and willow boughs, an emblem of spring, are also worn round the head or waved in the hand. If the rites are concerned with the rice crop it is curious that wheat should be used, and no attention paid to the rice fields.

No explanation of the limited route of the processions is forthcoming. Only part of the Ta Li plain is covered, and only about half of the villages on the lake shore, the limit being reached before the northern extremity of the plain, and before the villages nearest to the city are reached. Der Ser Mó, the temple of the Dragon of the Lake, is for example not included in the itinerary. Yet the dancers do not belong to these villages, but to those which are not visited. A festival designed to benefit the crops of the district covering so restricted an area seems inadequate. The use of willow branches in rain-imploring processions in other parts of China is common, but the Gwer Sa La takes place whether the rains have started or not, and in the climate of Ta Li drought is unknown, though the rains are sometimes

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a few weeks late. No Min Chia regards the rite as designed to seek rain. 796

The use of lewd or suggestive remarks by the dancers, the fact that their dancing imitates drunkenness or perhaps ecstasy, the disarray of their clothing and the similarity of some of the costumes to those of women, suggest another origin for the festival. It is said that in former times, apparently within the lifetime of living men, the girls of the villages where the dances are held surrounded the dancers and sang songs, and it must be remembered that the dancers came from another group of villages. The general use of charms in the shape of human beings, especially by women and girls must also be noticed. These charms are of two kinds, those made of coloured wool in human shape which are hung round the neck, and small stick-on round labels, the size of a shilling, which are pasted on to the side of the forehead. Some of these are decorated with the Eight Diagrams (Pa Kua) well known throughout China, others with a crescent moon.

No Min Chia was able to explain just who the dancers were, how they were chosen, or what qualifications they must possess, but it is perhaps possible to throw some light on this point by considering the character and behaviour of a class of exorcists among the Min Chia, called Sai Dser, about whom much secrecy is observed. The name "Sai Dser" in Min Chia might well mean "Western people" or "Temple folk" or "Fairy people" for as the Min Chia language is not written, a certain ambiguity always exists about proper names formed of words with two or more uses. Actually no Min Chia with whom I spoke was able, or willing, to say definitely which of the above meanings was correct. It would seem that the last was the most probable, but if that is correct it involves a grammatical irregularity, since the word for a fairy is "*sai*" and 791

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La, dancing in the manner of the Sai Dser, it is not easy to see how the latter preserve their monopoly of the *Tiao Gur* ceremony which so closely resembles the dances of the Gwer Sa La.

The general attitude towards the Gwer Sa La is that of holiday making rather than of religious observance. To most people it is a day of carnival, a rare spectacle breaking the monotony of village life, something to go and watch. The school children are given a day off, everyone dresses in their best, and those who have houses in the villages along the processional route invite friends from the city to pass the day with them. The festival also attracts the usual crowd of hawkers and itinerant vendors of fruit, melon seeds, cakes and sweetmeats, who establish themselves along the wayside to catch the custom of the waiting spectators. The making of the charms worn on this occasion by practically everyone present also provides plenty of work for the village women for a long time before the festival, and these charms are sold not only along the roadside but even in the city of Ta Li. Mer Ger Yu, where the rites end, and which is also the nearest point to the city on the processional route, is crowded with visitors, who must be fed, and the day becomes a market of some importance drawing merchants from Hsia Kuan and Ta Li as well as from the villages across the lake. For Mer Ger Yu the economic aspect of the Gwer Sa La is at least as important as the religious. Probably this is one powerful reason why the prohibitions issued by the *Hsien* government fall on deaf ears, although as has been mentioned, there is some reason to suppose that certain aspects of the ceremony have been discontinued in recent years, possibly as a result of government disapproval. The participation of girls in the rite, even if they merely stood and sang songs (perhaps somewhat lewd in character) would be shocking to old-fashioned Chinese ideas, and the dis-

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appearance of this feature is no doubt due to official pressure. 796

To some extent the Gwer Sa La is felt by Min Chia peasants to be especially their own rite, one in which the city folk, and therefore the Chinese and half Chinese, have no part. They do not mind the spectators from the city coming out to look, but they do feel that the rites are in some way bound up with the country and its farmers, and are not a matter for regulation by city people and government officials.

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down to coincidence, of course, but its designation can hardly be that. It is known as Abba Malah. Abba means Father: here, the Father in Heaven. Malah is not known other than as a name. They do not seem to be able to define or explain the term, But the pronunciation is very precise. The "lah" is spoken with a definite click, so much so that it is virtually Malak, the Hebrew word for Angel. Have we not in this another strong indication of the Semitic origin of the Chiang religious beliefs?

In connection with this Sacred Roll and angel-Sin-Bearer or Redeemer the student of scripture inevitably recalls the many instances in the Old Testament of the mysterious angel-visitant appearing as God in human form to patriarchs, prophets and saints in times of stress and difficulty. By Isaiah he is called "the Angel of His Presence who saved them ":" in His love and in His pity He redeemed them, and He bare them, and carried them all they days of old. (Isaiah, 62; 9). In Malachi, 3; 1, "He is called the Lord whom ye seek, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in."

This delight of the Israelites for their Malak or Messenger of the covenant has a remarkable parallel in the fondness of the Chiang for their Abba Malah or Je-Dsu. They speak of Him in the possessive sense. The prefix of "ga-gee" goes with His name: "Ga-gee Je-Dsu" they say. The sentiment is that of the Christian hymn, "My Jesus I love thee, I know thou art mine."

Among Chiang Christians when the hymn "Jesus loves me" is sung the use of their own name "Je-Dsu" in place of the Chinese "Ye-Su" adds great zest to the singing. Every face then shines —every face is, as it were, a glistening white Stone.

At festival times the sacred roll is carried by the priest to the grove on a platter, where its base is embedded or planted in seed wheat. The emphasis is on the seed. The interpretation is not far to find when taken with the use to which this seed wheat is put. It is that death forms the prelude to life, a belief which the Chiang firmly hold. This will become plain as we proceed.

In some places the seed-wheat is carried separately to the grove, but at the grove the sacred roll is placed in it.

Where strict orthodoxy prevails there are three religious festivals in the year. The first occurs at their old New Year time, which falls on the first day of the tenth moon of the Chinese calendar. The second comes in the Summer and the third in the Autumn. But the dates vary according to the locality and even may be changed a little, as exigencies of weather and social conditions indicate.

In numerous places now only one religious festival is held in the year; in other places two. Uniformity has lapsed. Even in exact ritual procedure it is not found. One district has preserved customs and conceptions that another has let go or forgotten.

For private sacrifices there is naturally no set time. These

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that the presence of these oddities and occult claims does not lessen our admiration for the better class of priests who despise the use of such fraudulent practices in their profession. They refuse to stoop to these mountebank tricks and schemes for the sake of gain but trust to the all-merciful power of a benign God to meet the ills and needs of men. To them God is very real.

Few priests to-day wear a distinctive dress. There used to be priestly sacrificial garments; there is one in the West China Union University Museum, which we procured for it. This one shows a kind of back-plate ornament which is peculiar. Of its significance we remain so far in entire ignorance and until we find a clue there is no use making a guess at it. Nowadays priests mostly perform their sacrificial duties clad in the common white robe of the worshippers.

At the sacrifice in the grove only men are allowed to attend. Mixed worship is forbidden. Distance is no excuse, and nothing save bodily infirmity may deter the heads of households from being present. Worship is congregational and not to take part makes one a religious reprobate.

Elders or leaders of good repute are appointed in turns to see to all the necessary arrangements. It falls to them to select the ram or he-goat. This is done ten days ahead of time. It must be perfect in every part, body, legs and horns. And it must be white. If a wholly white animal cannot be found, a white cock is offered to atone for any spot or imperfection in colour. It is led home the day before and washed. To augment its cleansing it is next bathed in incense which is of cypress twigs. Then it is tethered in a clean place until wanted.

A new and unused rope is used to lead it to the altar. The rope, too, has to pass through the sanctifying fumes of the incense, and afterwards it may not be used for any profane purpose. A special honour rests on the person chosen to lead the victim to the grove. He is always some one reckoned worthy among his brethren. It falls to him to slay the sacrifice, and he receives an extra portion of the divided meat.

Three days beforehand the worshippers cleanse their bodies, wash their clothes and make themselves ready. No pungeant herbs such as garlic or onions may be eaten then or anything regarded as unclean. Even smoking is meantime prohibited. If possible, all go clothed in white. The very poor may wear dyed garments if they are cleansed and they have no other.

The road along which the victim is led to the grove only the worshippers may tread. No others that day may appear thereon, for that day it is sacred. Should any one inadvertently be met on it he must offer a special sacrifice to make amends for his trespass.

No outsiders are permitted to witness the New Year sacrifice. No Chiang even who are not participants are allowed near. The roads and approaches to the grove are carefully guarded against

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casual visitors or curious spying. None are supposed to approach the holy place except sharers in the sacrificial offering.

The procession towards the grove begins about nine or ten o'clock at night. The white clad participants carry torches or lanterns. One carries the sacred roll reverently on a basin or platter of wheat seed. This, at least, is the custom in some parts. In others the wheat seed is taken separately in the priest's pouch to the grove and then poured around the sacred roll on the basin or platter. A halt is made before arrival to re-sanctify the lamb. Water is now, curiously, poured into or over its ears, over its back and legs as a sort of baptismal ceremony. Note is taken whether the animal, under the douching, shakes itself or not. If it does, that is taken as a sign of its fitness; if not, it is unhesitatingly rejected. Naturally a healthy lamb does shake itself and the ritual goes on. A third cleansing or sanctification of the lamb is gone through on its arrival at the grove.

The rule in every observance is, "holiness unto Abba Chee." Worshippers, vessels, utensils must be cleansed. The lamb requires to be perfect. God is a God of purity. Nothing evil or unclean can come before him. Heaven is a pure land. They who seek life there and the divine blessing here cannot obtain such apart from sacrificial purification. These repeated cleansings leading up to it all signify this ultimate purpose in the Chiang worship.

A white banner with a miniature bow and arrow on it is raised on the altar. The white roll is placed directly before the White Stone. A large cake of unleavened bread and a jar of wine are placed beside it. The priest takes his station. A fire is lit in the centre of the open space. These preliminaries over, the ritual begins.

Its opening is announced by the discharge of a small three chambered gun, used only for this purpose. The gun originally was of brass. The writer has part of an ancient one in his possession. Now they are made of iron.

The worshippers now kneel together as the priest begins his chants and prayers. He keeps time with a small drum. Je-Dsu, the angel overseer of all that is done, looks down to see that the hearts of those present are sincere. If not, the reputed punishment is liability to transfixion by a "brazen" arrow from heaven. A special awe, therefore, rests on every worshipper.

At the conclusion of the initatory chants a remarkable ceremony takes place. The priest or "Be-bo" burns incense of cypress twigs and enshrouds the White Stone in a cloud of fiery smoke. The background established, he, removes the rope from the lamb. The rope is wound around the vessel that to receive the blood. He and the elders now kneel and place their hands on the head of the victim. Afterwards all who have specially prepared themselves do the same.

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796 783 After this solemn act of the transference of their sin to the lamb he recites an intercessory prayer. It begins with a triple ascription to God and goes on to invoke him to see and hear that they have assembled to offer sacrifice. He pleads that, "The offering of a lamb has been perpetuated from of old and the paying of vows from former generations. To offer sacrifice is not our invention, it was established in ancient times. This altar of the Most High opens the gate of heaven and the way of sacrifice. It leads men to pay their vows. The leader of the lamb has brought it thither. One hundred and ninety-two pairs of white banners show forth the purity of the altar, and signify that God is pleased to accept the offering. "O ye our ancient priests witness that our offering is very pure, and that it is not our own instituting, but has been from of old. In paying our vows we have eaten nothing offensive for three days, nor gone to any unclean place. We have come to the sacred grove; we have placed in position the vessel for the blood; we have led the lamb thither; we have untied the rope and bound it around the basin; the arrow of the bow we now unloose; we slay the lamb on this floor; O God of heaven come down, come down as we offer it to thee. Thou Yather of Spirit come to our grove. If our garments were not clean we would not dare to wear them; if our shoes were not clean we would not dare to put them on; if our hats were not clean we would not dare to use them; if our backs were not clean we would not dare to bear the drum; if our hearts were not sincere we would not dare to pay these vows or pray these prayers. The grass is in the blood basin; the bread and wine we have brought to our God; Oh, regard the slayer of the lamb and the priest as without sin and undo the sin of all present. We sprinkle the blood to atone for our iniquities; O God accept our sacrifice."

The arrow is now removed from the bow on the White Banner and the lamb slain.

The original practice was to kill the lamb by a brazen arrow, this being the symbol of judgment. But now a knife, the property of the priest, is used. On the handle glitters a white stone or a white bone ornament. The priest hands the knife to the leader of the lamb. The lamb's head is drawn against some one's knee. Another graspe its legs firmly. One thrust of the knife is made and the blood flows into a basin. With a wisp of grass it is sprinkled on the altar with its bread and wine and through the cloud on the White Stone and White Banner and on all sides.

The White Banner with its arrow spent is immediately removed and inserted beside the White Stone because the White Stone is the emblem of the divine holiness.

The action denotes that this is an offering in righteousness. That which their Abba Chee desires is presented before Him. Their plea for mercy is the spent arrow. For in its discharge sin was judged. Since punishment has been meted out to sin, as evidenced

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by the blood they sprinkle before him, they now ask for the remission of iniquity and transgression, which the goodness of God directed them to seek.

A paring from the hoof, the ears and the genital parts of the victim are burned on the altar, apparently as an act of consecration. The undivided horns are presented, but afterwards taken home. An ear is placed on the point of a staff and set up. The head, heart, liver and kidneys, with the flesh of the animal are consumed by fire.

The priest at sacrifices, other than the New Year sacrifice, which is the greatest of all, receives the shoulder or foreleg and breast and skin. Then the worshippers divide up the flesh among themselves. No stranger may eat of it for it is holy. The intestines are cleansed, minced, cooked and eaten with unleavened bread. It is their sacrament. Each worshipper drinks a small cup of wine.

The procedure varies somewhat according to locality. There is no exact uniformity found in the details of procedure. Each district has something of its own in the way of observance. But in the main the order follows a general line which is the same everywhere. Nowhere is sacrifice spoken of as the propitiation of Heaven or of God by man. It is necessary to draw attention to this point. The Chiang know nothing of this heathen doctrine. According to their belief God does not require to be placated. They regard sacrifice as divine and celebrate it as such. The celebration they call "the paying of vows," for this represents their concern in it. For in paying their vows they pledge themselves to God's will and service, which is what God requires of man. He provides the sacrifice; they accept it by vowing to him their fidelity.

The remarkable thing is that bands of these men in the stillness and darkness of midnight meet to worship God in this way, and have done so for over two thousand years in West China. They believe they meet God here. He comes near to them in the person of their angel Je-Dsu. The light of the sacrificial fire, reflected in the glistening whiteness of their White Stone, symbolises His glory. It is their Shechinah. They cannot interpret this with the precision that we should wish, but they are under no two opinions that this sacrificial light represents to them the shining of the divine effulgence.

Here we Christians feel that we stand with them on holy ground and would willingly remove the shoes from our feet. Very solemn and awful is the floor on which they thus worship. Who dare call this litholatry? The man who would is utterly devoid of soul—a hopeless Canaanite in heart and mind.

St. John in his vision of things in Heaven was carried away in spirit to a great and high mountain, where he was shown the holy Jerusalem descending out of Heaven from God and having the glory of God. Her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal. The city had no need of

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the light of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and The Lamb, (the slain Lamb) is the light thereof. An intelligent Chiang Christian reading this passage in the 21st chapter of the Book of Revelation has no need of any one to interpret it to him, he knows it after the manner born. The spiritual conceptions, the similes, the aspirations are his own. He understands perfectly how the light of the glory of God and of the Lamb is like unto a Stone, most precious, clear as crystal.

In the book of Zechariah where Joshua, the high priest, hears that Jehovah will bring forth His Servant the Branch and lay the Stone before Joshua when the iniquity of the land shall be removed in one day, the references for the common reader are very difficult to understand. It is not so with the Chiang. The Branch and the Stone are well known to him on his house-top, and the removal of iniquity in connection with them a periodic occurrence. From Genesis to Revelation the ritual of the White Religion of the Chiang bristles with points of similarity and great mutual illumination.

Take for instance Genesis, 31; 54, where it is said that Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread; and they did eat bread and tarried all night in the mount." What commentator can explain clearly the early usages that led him to do this? But we who have learnt how the Chiang sacrifice and tarry all night in the Mount have our difficulties cleared away. In their practices we see those of Genesis still preserved and observed. The Old Testament is a new book to us, comparatively, after we have sojourned for a time in the Chiang country. Their rocks, towers and fortresses give a vividness to many a Psalm and many a passage, that were previously half obscure to us.

Before the worshippers on the Mount separate the priest carefully divides the seed wheat between them, in which Je-Dsu had been planted in the likeness of death. The dividing in some parts is done by sowing. He scatters it over them like a sower when each one collects, what he can by lifting up a fold of his garment. The seed denotes the receiving of new life through death, i.e. by means of the sacrifice rendered to God. Each worshipper had taken to the grove four small white paper banners. Two of these are inserted in the fields and two taken home with the life seed, and preserved in a sacred receptacle called the *Choh-Ch'u*, which rests on a ledge in the corner of the main room of the house.

This sowing of seed takes place at marriages and at deaths. It means re-creation and restoration . . . life beyond the tomb. On the coffin a wooden bird typifies the flight of the soul to the Pure Land above. Heaven to them is the land of purity, therefore of gladness and brightness. The bride, after her marriage, lays aside her beautiful marriage attire, that she might wear it again when she passes into this land of purity and of brightness. Among

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a people whose religion is so much expressed in types and shadows the sentiment in this, as elsewhere, is very beautiful.

After the sacrifices, responsive singing, rejoicing and dancing are engaged in by all. The songs now sung are said to be very beautiful. For three days all work ceases. It is a period of festive joy before the Lord . . . a real Sabbath of rest and of gladness, pointing forward, of course, to its counterpart in the Heavens.

N. B.:—For further information regarding Chiang religion and customs see the author's pamphlet, "The History, Customs and Religion of the Chiang"; also article in the 1923 volume of the Journal of The North China Branch of The Royal Asiatic Society, "The Religion of The Chiang".

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The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time.

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神會, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest.

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which

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one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localties six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssus. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of a T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chwan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two woman rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

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793 538 books, are taught by word of mouth, memorized and passed down from generation to generation, from father to son or from teacher to pupil. In Tung Men Wai and at P'u Wa the line has ceased and there is now no Ch'iang priest. There must be no incorrectness in the performances or in the repetitions. There is therefore a special priesthood who, however, are also farmers and have wives and children. They are important persons, highly respected in their communities, but they have no distinctive dress.

793 The priest officiates in all important ceremonies. At least that is the ancient custom. In localities where there are no priests, as at Tung Men Wai, the local people sometimes officiate, or a Taoist priest may be called to perform funeral ceremonies or to exorcise demons, since the Ch'iang priests are more expensive.

In most of the ceremonies performed to Mu Bya Sei on the housetops, the head of the house officiates. On special or most important occasions the Ch'iang priest is called in. Since he is an important person, whenever he officiates in such a ceremony he must be boarded and lodged, given meat or some other commodity, and there must be a special feast. Sometimes he must be paid money also. Since the priest has no special costume, he wears the white homespun garments such as are worn by all Ch'iang worshippers.

793 796 Priests are responsible for conducting sacred ceremonies that bring contact with and assistance from the gods. They have superhuman potency without which their work and ceremonials would not be efficacious. In 1933 a priest told the writer his ceremonial implements and stated that the reason he sold them and no longer acted as priest was that he had lost his efficacy.

When a priest has finished his course of instruction and is ready to begin his work as a priest, an ordination ceremony takes place. His face is ceremoniously washed with sacred water for purposes of purification. Incense, candles, and cedar twigs are burnt and a white cockerel is killed. After the ceremony, which takes place in the sacred grove, he takes his full responsibility as priest.

The priest, who in different localities is called bi bu (bi- bu-), bi bo or bi mu performs the following ceremonies:—

1. He conducts the worship of the great god or gods in the sacred grove on the first day of the sixth moon, or the first day of

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the eighth moon, or the first day of the tenth moon. He dances, beats his drum, and chants his "sacred books." 793 796

2. Since the souls of people that die violent deaths become demons, their bodies are cremated.

3. Demons are enticed by the priest into jars which are buried upside down on cross-roads or near the graves of the persons whose souls have become demons.

4. It is believed that if a man or a woman has pain in his bowels or chest this is caused by a demon. A ploughshare is heated white-hot, the priest chants and treads on the white-hot ploughshare with his foot, then treads on the stomach and chest of the patient, and waves the hot plough-share over the chest and stomach, and sometimes over the back, of the patient. This exorcises the demon. [755]

5 He divines to determine lucky days—for weddings, for beginning a journey, for starting to build a house, and many other things. Priests are supposed to have no books, but some priests have a book in which there is no writing, but there are many pictures. The twelve creatures of the zodiac occur several times in the book. This is a book for divination, and especially to determine lucky days. [787]

6. He conducts funerals.

7. At Mu Shang Chai the writer was told that the priest makes connections with the Earth Vein Dragon and with the Earth Mother and tells them to protect the deceased.

8. At Mu Shang Chai it was also stated that the priest ceremonially purifies the clothing of the deceased by incantations, smoke, etc., and that he informs the twelve gods of the decease.

9. He performs special ceremonies of worship on the housetops when requested to do so.

10. He performs special ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves in performance of vows.

11. He ordains new priests.

12. He performs the ceremonies of setting up new gods in the homes.

The above list is probably not complete.

5. Sacred Implements.

The implements used by the priests in worship are sacred, and are to be handled with reverence. They are also naturally surcharg- 778

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11. A long naturally notched antelope horn. If a person has 778
a pain in his eyes, hand, back or leg, the point of the horn is dug 755
into the ground, the priest chants, water is poured onto the disturbed ground, and the demon is exorcised.

Small brass mirrors are sometimes also worn on the priest's 778
ceremonial hat. Cowry shells have mysterious potency, and on the ceremonial hat add to the efficacy of the priest. Sometimes cowry shells are sewed onto the hats of babies to protect them from demons.

Some sacred implements found only in limited areas have been omitted

6. Sacred ceremonies.

As has already been stated, most ceremonies in the home are 796 •
performed by the head or by another member of the family. On special and important occasions the priest is called in. Friends and relatives may attend. Since women are considered to be [562]
impure, they are not allowed to attend any ceremonies in the sacred groves, or on the housetops. Inside the home they must stand at a distance during the ceremonies.

Practically always there is a bloody sacrifice as a part of the ceremony. A goat, a cockerel, a yak, a "p'ien niu" or cow from the grasslands that seems to be half yak and half cow, or rarely a pig is offered. It is never a cow that has been used in plowing. The sacrifice is a gift to the deity, and the primary purpose is to make a contact with the god in order to secure his favor and help. In central Asia there is a widesprsad practice of presenting to an important person a gift as a means of securing his friendship and assistance, and it is generally expected and welcomed by the giver of the favors. This idea is transferred to the gods, with the result that before a favor is asked there is a ceremony of worship in which incense, candles, and spirit money are burnt, and gifts are made of wine, or pork, and the sacrifical animal is killed as a means of presenting it to the gods.

Mu Bya Sei and the other gods are righteous, and require good conduct on the part of their followers. Forgiveness of sins naturally is included in the list of favors sought, but that is far from the only

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796 purpose for the offering of sacrifice. Rain, good crops, health, children, protection for the domestic animals, protection from the demons that cause disease and other calamities, as well as the benign favor of the gods and heart-reviving communion with them, are among the things sought.

796 782 The burning of incense is a vital part of worship. Indeed, this seems true of all native religions in central Asia. The Ch'iang generally use cedar twigs, although sometimes incense sticks and candles are added. More rarely the leaves and twigs of two bushes and a large-leafed shrub that grow in very high altitudes are substituted for cedar twigs. The fragrant odor is believed to please the deity and cause him to be more propitious. Spirit money is sometimes burnt with the belief that burning transforms it into actual money that can be used in the spirit world.

Generally some unleavened bread is offered. Among the Ch'iang and other people in the highlands no bread is leavened, so the offering of unleavened bread was originally accidental

In most localities the goat offered is not a lamb, but a full-grown animal between three and six years old. It is usually white, but in many localities a dark-brown or black goat can be used. It must be of only one color, and unblemished—that is, its horns, ears, etc, must have no defect.

The shedding of blood is a natural part of the sacrifice. The blood is not shed for the remission of sins, but is a necessary part of the performance. After the sacrifices in the groves blood is generally sprinkled on the door of the temple to show that the sacrifice has been performed. When the sacrifice is on the housetop, blood is generally not sprinkled on the doorposts, and when it is done it is generally to frighten demons and to keep them from entering the house.

796 776 In some villages Mu Bya Sei is worshipped on the housetops on the first and on the fifteenth of each moon, and also on new year day and on some other days during the first month. In some localities the great gods are worshipped in the sacred groves three times, the first day of the sixth month, the first day of the eighth month, and the first day of the tenth month, but the tendency is to perform the sacrifices less frequently. There are villages in which it is performed only once a year.

796 778 On the days when the great ceremonies are performed in the sacred groves, and on the second and third days afterward no stranger must pass along the roads near the sacred grove nor enter

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the village. If anybody does so, serious calamities may result. Near Ts'a To the writer was told that once two strangers entered the village a day or two after the sacrifice had been performed, with the result that during that year many of the domestic animals died. 796 778

7. Sacred Groves.

Every village has a sacred grove. Its trees, which are generally oaks, are sacred and must not be cut down. In it are from one to three trees that are especially sacred, and near these is an altar capped with a sacred white stone. In front of this altar the sacrificial animal is killed. In or near the sacred grove is generally a small temple made of stones and plastered together with clay. There are no images in it, but in one corner is a sacred white stone.

There is a procession led by the priest and the master of ceremonies followed by men and boys from all the homes in the village. They first go to temple where the priest chants, beats his drum, and now and then dances. Then they march to the altar near the most sacred trees, where the animal is sacrificed and offered to the gods. Then they return to the temple where the meat is cooked and divided, and the flesh is eaten. A large cake of unleavened wheat bread is offered with the goat.

Most of the ceremony is performed at night and very early in the morning. The sky and the stars above, the trees and shrubs below, the darkness and the silence, the sacred trees and the altar with its sacred white stone, give an atmosphere of awe and wonder so that the worshipper believes that he meets his gods and feels their very presence. The worshipper experiences the emotional thrill that is realized through the belief that he has had actual communion with his gods.

In recent years some of the sacred trees have been cut down and used, some by Chinese soldiers, and others by the Ch'iang themselves.

8. The Tradition of Hebrew Origin.

Before the establishing of the Chinese Republic neither Chinese, foreigners, nor Ch'iang had any idea that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. It was approximately 1915 when Rev. Thomas Torrance began to work among the Ch'iang people. He sincerely loved them, and tried to help them by teaching them the Christian religion, by opening schools (which he was prevented from doing), and by giving them good bulls, cockerels, etc. One of his early converts, and the most 174 114

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimage to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal.

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i.e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way.

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
796 made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they
341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
79- practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I.
1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II.
1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

Mewu

stuck into the obo. 000

The ami who dwell in the obo are regarded as tutelary spirits of 776
man and beast; they guard against sickness, cattle diseases and other misfortunes, as for example, the threat of war. Among the sedentary Fantzu they not only protect the animals, but make the fields fertile as well. In war the ami are leaders and protect people against being wounded. Personal offerings are frequently made to the obo or the ami-spirit, especially when there is sickness in the family or when other misfortunes occur. For example, I observed four riders with two long /46/ wooden darts wound with juniper shrubs, place them on the obo near my tent.

Oddly enough, I was told that the ami can be very much disturbed by predatory animals (wolves, wildcats, foxes).

Once a year a general obo festival is held, when the largest num- 776
ber of darts and khadaks are offered. In time the weather destroys many darts, so that the obo only gradually increases in size.

It seems that the obo are erected on elevations that have been 778
held sacred since ancient times. At any rate, my interpreter Wang had never seen the erection of a new obo. However, the Fantzu say that the obo in the northeastern part of the territory is much older than the one in the northwest.

Each obo has its anniversary on a specific day of the year. In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there is a large obo that outranks the others, and is worshiped by the nomads as well as the sedentary Fantzu. Its anniversary is the 14th day of the 5th (Chinese) month. There are two more obo in the uplands, which are revered by the nomads only, and at a lower elevation three obo for the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu.

The cult of the obo is a noteworthy example of the syncretism 779
of folk religion and Lamaism: 778

The ami (mountain spirit) which is imagined as living in the 776
obo and which was without doubt an original element of Tibetan folk belief, has a strange relationship to the incarnations of Lamaistic religion. There is an obo for every lamasery, and it is erected on an elevation overlooking the confines of the lamasery, being to a certain extent analogous to the relationship of a Chinese pagoda to a district city. In the magical thinking of the Tibetans the ami dwelling in the obo is related to an incarnation (fu-yeh, huo-fu). Thus there exists in some measure a mystical trinity - obo, incarnation and its corresponding Buddha or Bodhisattva of the Western paradise. /47/ As a result, certain festivals are celebrated at the

Mewu

obo and in the lamasery on identical days of the year.

The day of the obo festival is also celebrated as the birthday of fu-yeh. My interpreter, trying to make clear to me the relationship between obo and fu-yeh, once compared the obo with a p'ai-wei, i. e., a Chinese ancestral tablet, since the deceased fu-yeh is thought of as dwelling in the obo as well as in the Western paradise.

On New Year's, on the fourth day of the first Chinese month, to be exact, a festival is held in the temple of the lamasery. On this occasion fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased incamations. At the same time there is a festival at the obo to invoke the mountain spirit. On this occasion butter, tea, a wether (!) and cypress wood are sacrificed. A piece of meat from each of the four extremities and the breast, the ears and the lower jaw are burned with the cypress wood, to indicate that in reality the entire animal has been sacrificed. This offering is made in order to safeguard man and beast and protect the country from war. Thus Lamaistic religious practices are here combined with animal sacrifice which stands in sharp contrast to actual Buddhism. (1)

1. Schröder's 8) account of the mountain spirit of the Tujen in the Sining region is very noteworthy for the manifold combinations which the spirit inhabiting the obo can take on: "The mountain spirit is bound to a certain locale and has its stronghold, its permanent dwelling, in the obo. It can enter the shaman as an assistant spirit, and take possession of him in a trance. *The earth god also has its dwelling in the obo; it is in* the layer of earth."

It is also characteristic for the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism that sorcerers (bŏm-bu) as well as lamas can offer sacrifices at the obo.

Whereas the ami living in the obo are tutelary spirits of the entire tribe, each family also venerates special guardian spirits within their tent. These might be compared to the ancient Roman lares familiares. My Chinese interpreter called them Chia-shen (house gods, Tibetan: Yu-la). (1) There are no images of them.

1. However, compare Hermanns, page 48.

Instead, a bunch of hair from various animals hangs in the left rear

792 does not realize that this view contradicts the essential nature of an incamation. As we said above, people like to give butter to the fu-yeh if he rides to the tent encampment personally to request food for the lamasery. We have also mentioned the fact that when death occurs in a family the fu-yeh must conduct a special rite in the tent of the deceased so that he will not be reborn as an animal but as a human being.

796 /67/ All festivals of the Tibetans, except weddings and part of the New Year's festival, are religious. There are four yearly festivals in the lamaseries: from the 1st to the 15th of the first month, from the 15th to the 25th of the fifth month, from the 1st to the 15th of the eighth month, and from the 15th to the 25th of the tenth month, according to the Chinese calendar. There are no other religious festivals, with the exception of the festival known as "speaking and sitting still." No religious festivals are celebrated in the tents. However, while the lamasery festivals are going on or shortly thereafter, people invite friends and relatives to their tent. The laymen bring meat, wine and money to the festivals as gifts for the lamasery; no gifts are brought when people are invited into the tents. The wine is drunk only by the laymen, never by lamas. At the New Year festival, which as a rule lasts a fortnight, feasts are usually prepared in the tents, but only on the first three days. This festival was formerly more simple among the Fantzu, but has been influenced by the Chinese. On the morning of New Year's day they burn cypress wood as a sacrifice to the mountain spirits. On the fourth day of the year everybody from the tents goes to the lamasery, where a large feast is given - consisting mostly of mo-mo and butter - and fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased fu-yeh. At the same time a festival is held on the obo mountain to invoke the ami. Butter, tea, mutton and cypress wood are offered. At the New Year's feasts in the tents, beef, mutton and pork are eaten - in fact, pork is eaten only at New Year - as well as butter, a kind of bread made of unroasted barley flour, pastry baked in oil and tsamba. In addition they buy bean-flour noodles, carrots and cabbage in Ho-chou, the nearest large Mohammedan commercial city north of Labrang. If the family is wealthy they also eat pao-tzu (tarts) filled with garlic, similar to Italian ravioli, which are popular all over North China as well. Noodles and mo-mo (Chinese bread) are also served exclusively at New Year and on other festive occasions. If possible, they drink wine.

/67a/ Besides the above-described festivals, the niu-na festival 796 is held annually in summer, but only among the tent nomads of the Mewu tribe. The name of the festival means "sitting still and talking." The site of the festival, a shallow valley in the grasslands with steep, pointed limestone peaks in the background, is always the same. The time of the festival is determined each year by the Mewu-hsin-szu Lamasery. The festival honors the spirits to insure the health of livestock throughout the year; prayers are offered for favorable wind and sufficient rain. There is no special sacrifice offered. The festival lasts five days. At least one or two persons, usually more, from each family - men and women, old people and youngsters - participate. Each family is required to send at least one representative. If they fail to do so, they must pay a fine. Only about 20 to 30 people arrive on the first day to erect the tents for the participants which stand along the edge of the circular festival grounds. The area measures about 100 meters in diameter. There is also a beautiful rectangular temple tent in which the lamas say their prayers. It is decorated with a tri-colored cloth frieze and black ornaments. Inside hang Lamaistic images of saints; an altar has also been erected. Next to the temple tent there are two larger tents which serve as the community kitchen. The tents of most of the participants are made of the customary coarse black tent cloth. Only the wealthy people pitch small, white tents of the type the lamas use on their travels. Most of the participants arrive on the second day. They do not eat anything in the morning, only drink something. Toward noon as large a meal as possible is served: tsamba, butter, mo-mo, rice, sour milk, but no wine. The main dishes are mo-mo baked in oil and butter. The meal lasts one or two hours because enough must be eaten for two days. Mo-mo or flat, soft rolls about 30 centimeters in diameter are baked on a large common hearth. The ingredients for this, wheat flour and rape oil purchased in Labrang or Ho-chou, are collected from all the tents. The mo-mo are equally distributed among all the participants. When they /68/ eat, men and women sit on the ground in two rows facing each other. The inmates of one tent, 7 to 10 persons, sit together. After the meal they fast and are silent for the rest of the day. On the third day of the festival they do not eat and do not talk; only prayers are mumbled by men and women. On the fourth day there is again a large meal, but otherwise no one eats or converses. On the fifth day the conduct is the same as on the third: fasting, prayer, silence. On the sixth day the festival breaks up. I visited it on the

79% fourth day, and my impression was that the participants were in a very quiet, dull and somewhat sleepy mood. The festival is conducted by the lamas of the Mewu lamaseries, more than half of whom attend. The chieftain does not come regularly himself, but always sends members of his family. The participants arrive in their Sunday-best, their costumes often being magnificent. The women wear red silk tassels on their conical felt hats. You see a great many purple and scarlet silk jackets with gay collars; red, purple and figured pulu coats; rich hair ornaments of silver and gold. The middle section of the gala hair ornaments of the young girls is decorated with silvery bands of tin. The women's furs are often trimmed with a bias band of cloth that looks like a skirt and is edged with otter fur or colored cloth. Everyone brings along his best saddles and bridles, often mounted with silver. You see many showy weapons, guns with silver-mounted stocks and swords in choice sheaths. The women also wear beautiful knives in their belts.

/69/ Social Life

551/553 The Mewu-Fantzu are said to have surnames (hsing), a custom which they have taken over from the Chinese, probably only a short time ago for it was not customary among the Fantzu, and the surname is not used in conversation. (1) According to an ancient

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 42, the Amdo-Tibetans have only given names; Rockhill 1), page 724, says the same.

custom, a child is given a name by a lama when it is one or two months old. This name-giving is not connected with a special festival. An adult is usually given a nickname by his friends, which refers to a special characteristic or event, for example, "imperfection," "deformed." I have no information about a change of name as a result of marriage. People with the same surname may marry, likewise relatives, all except brothers and sisters. Thus cousins may marry or a nephew may marry his aunt on either side of the family, or a son may marry the divorced wife of his father. Couples from the same neighborhood or from outlying areas are free to marry, but not those of special tent encampments or special families.

Examples of Evil Gods:

776 Hsing-shang-na-wa ts'un	Li-zé-sié	God of Strange Vines in the Corners of a Farm.
Ah-t'i-hua	Kabre-po-sié	God of Bushes under the Rock.
Hua-peng and La-heh chai's	La-ge-po-sié	God of Strange Forests in the Corners of the Land.
Li-mu-chi and Chi-erh-wa chai's	Yǐ-ta-sié	God of a Strange Stone Resembling a Chicken Pecking Food.
Ma-peng-chai	Ba-ta-sié	Strange God above the Dam.
Mu-erh-ta	Dse-tche-ba-sié	God of Thorny Dam.
Chai-liu-chai	Hngi-gee-po-sié	God of Old Red Trees.
Mu-kung-chai	Dza-gee-kua-sié	Strange God of Broken House Foundation.
Chiu-tza-chai	Man-dio-sié	God of Cliff.
Li-fan (Pao-hsien)	Tsai-zé-tcha-tǐ sié	God of Drinking Wine and Eating Meat.
T'ung-hua	Tso-ge-po sié	God of Gleditschia Sinensis.
K'ung-ti-p'ing	Tcha-se ra-kǔ-cha sié	God of Stone Bridge and Rugged Cliff.
Tseng-t'ou-shang-chai	Sagta-lagbo sié	God of the Slope at the End of the Outpost.
Tseng-t'ou-chung-chai /16/	Tsa-tshi-po sié	God of Thorns.
Tseng-t'ou-hsia-chai	Ko-bo-tsi-bo sié	God of Stone Piles and Forests.
Chu-erh-shan-chai	Dsǔ-be-dá sié	God under a Mud Pit.

776 796 Every year, from the middle of the first month to the end of the second month, the Ch'iang tribesmen asked the tuan-kung to exorcise the evil gods on the four days of the boar, dog, dragon, and horse. Mixing the flour of buckwheat or oats with the water used for washing the faces of the whole family, they make a plateful of images of ghosts and devils. Then mixing wheat flour with clean water, they make another plateful of sacrificial offerings to good gods. Wearing a monkey-skin hat, striking a spade, burning pine branches, and chanting the liturgies, the tuan-kung calls on good and bad spirits as he performs his exorcism. (Based upon the oral statements of Tuan-kung Chu of Hsing-shang-chai.)